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Abraham Lincoln and religion

Episcopal

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

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LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
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LINCOLN—A COSMOPOLITAN CHRISTIAN

The beginning of the Lenten season invites a review of some of the religious bodies with which the Lincoln family came in contact. It is well known that Abraham Lincoln was not a member of any church group, yet he was a man of profound faith in God. It is the purpose of this monograph to arrange chronologically a compilation of testimonies in which various denominations have set forth their claims of having influenced Lincoln at some time in his life. A summary of these allegations might allow us to think of Lincoln as a cosmopolitan Christian.

QUAKER

Lincoln prepared a biographical sketch for John Locke Scripps in which he wrote: "The family (Lincolns) were originally Quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people." We have not discovered that any of Lincoln's direct ancestors were members of that body although some of the Pennsylvania Lincolns intermarried with the Quakers. When Herbert Hoover became President the Society of Friends claimed two chief executives, Lincoln and Hoover.

METHODIST

The parents of Lincoln were married by a Methodist clergyman, Jesse Head, and when Thomas Lincoln married his second wife another minister of that church, John L. Rogers, performed the ceremony. When Lincoln became President, the Foundry Methodist Church at Washington, where Lincoln was in attendance on a special occasion, by subscriptions collected at the time, made the President a Life Director of its Missionary Society. The Methodist Bishop Simpson spoke the last eulogy over the body of Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois.

BAPTIST

Lincoln's parents very early affiliated with the Little Mount Separate Baptist Church in Kentucky which was an anti-slavery organization. After the President's death his widow wrote: "My husband's heart was naturally religious, he had often described to me his noble mother—the prayers she offered up for him." During the Indiana days the father Thomas joined Pigeon Baptist Church by letter from Kentucky and his second wife joined by experience. Abraham's sister affiliated with the church about the time of her wedding and it was customary for young people to postpone church membership until establishing a home. Abraham did not marry until he was thirty-three years old.

CATHOLIC

Abraham Lincoln's first school teacher was Zachariah Riney, a member of the Catholic faith. Abe's Aunt Mary Mudd Lincoln and her son also named Abraham, the President's cousin, were also members of that church. A Eucharistic Congress was held in Chicago in 1927 and Cardinal Mundelein according to the press, stated: "When Father St. Cyr came to say mass for Lincoln's stepmother, Mr. Lincoln (Abraham, the President) would prepare the altar himself. Indeed with his own hands Abraham carved out six wooden chairs to be used at the mass." Apparently stepmother was confused with aunt.

DISCIPLES

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lincoln after settling in Illinois affiliated with the Disciples of Christ or Christian Church and they both died members of this church. A reminiscence of Rev. John O. Kane, a well known minister of the Christian Church stated: "I baptised him (Abraham Lincoln) in a creek near Springfield, Illinois. . . I placed his name on the church book. He lived and died a member of the Church of Christ." (Name does not appear on register.) Dr. Edward Scribner Ames, minister of the University Church of Disciples in Chi-

ago stated in a sermon: "Lincoln could very well be a member of this church. Why not take him in." The following year Dr. Ames unveiled a Lincoln bust and concluded the ceremonies with the statement, "Mr. Lincoln we receive you into the membership and fellowship of this church."

EPISCOPALIAN

An Episcopalian clergyman of Springfield, Illinois, Rev. Charles Dresser officiated at the wedding of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd. Later Lincoln purchased the rectory from Dr. Dresser and lived in that home during the Springfield years. Approaching the choir in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York there has been prepared in the parapet a series of twenty recesses each representing a century in the Christian era. The niche prepared for the nineteenth century contains a statuette of Abraham Lincoln suggesting that he had contributed most to Christian civilization during that century.

PRESBYTERIAN

Mrs. Abraham Lincoln was a member of the Presbyterian Church at Springfield, Ill. and Mr. Lincoln, although not a formal member, served in different capacities for the church. During the Washington days both Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln attended the New York Ave. Presbyterian Church and rented a pew in the church which now bears a memorial tablet. Mrs. Sydney Lauck, for seventy years a member of the church said on the information of Dr. Gurley, the minister, that Abraham Lincoln "but for the assassin who took his life would have made public profession of his faith in Christ on Easter 1865."

CONGREGATIONALIST

Dr. W. E. Barton, a leading Congregationalist minister, gave an address at Illinois College at Jacksonville, Ill. On the assumption that Ann Rutledge before her death was planning to attend the Jacksonville Female College, and also assuming that Lincoln would have followed her and attended the Illinois College, Dr. Barton ventured this conclusion: "It requires no vivid stretch of the imagination to think of Abraham Lincoln as emerging from Illinois College as a Congregational minister." Dr. Barton further observed that Lincoln's early training "would have made him familiar with the Congregational form of church government."

SPIRITUALIST

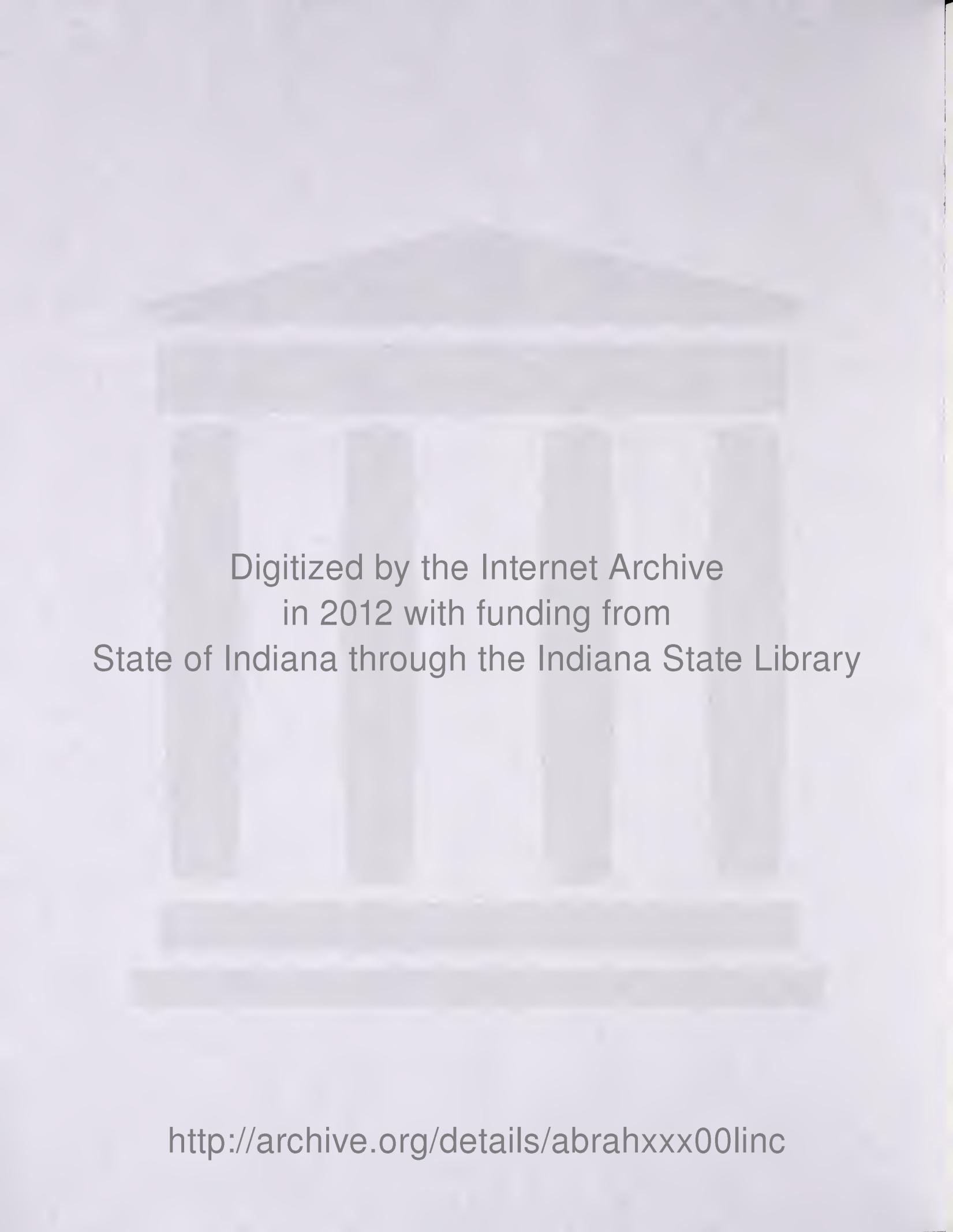
The *St. Louis Globe Democrat* on March 31, 1896 in reporting the Progressive Spiritualists Convention at Springfield, Mo. stated that a delegate claimed: "Lincoln, as is well established by history, was a firm believer in Spiritualism as any member of the association." Another delegate commented: "It would hardly be fair to designate Lincoln as a spiritualist, though he is known to have accepted in a general way the truths of our religion." In 1891 Nellie C. Maynard published a 264 page book entitled "Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?"

UNITARIAN

The American Unitarian Association issued a leaflet under the caption "He Never Joined a Church" in which it is stated "I think that Lincoln could have been a Unitarian if he had been aware of the freedom of belief, the right of every man to think for himself on matters of religion."

UNIVERSALIST

Dr. Frank O. Hall of New York according to a report of a sermon stated: "We Universalists like to remember that Lincoln believed in the ideals our church stands for. He was a predestinarian, and his Calvinistic faith made him practically a Universalist."



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Lincoln Lore

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A VIEW OF LINCOLN FROM A HOUSE DIVIDED (Cont.)

... there is not one of us that cherish an unkind thought or feeling toward him and for this reason we feel as acutely every remark derogatory to him, except as a President. I never go in Public that my feelings are not pounded or are we exempt in Matt's own home for people constantly wish he may be hung & all such evils may attend his footsteps. We would be devoid of all feeling or sympathy did we not feel for them & had we no love for *Mary*, would love or respect her as the daughter of a Father much loved & whose memory is fondly cherished by those who were little children when he died I wish I were not so sensitive but it is *decided weakness* of the entire family and to struggle against it seems for naught...[.]

One detects an undertone of feeling that he had been properly chastised—perhaps in his switch from the overly familiar “Abe” to “Mr. Lincoln”—in Dawson’s reply: “I am really glad that you have such feelings about Mr Lincoln—I have never been able to entertain for him any unkindness, save as an enemy to my country—I have never believed the slanders up- on him as a man—& accord to him the respect that is due a gentleman—It would indeed be strange if you felt otherwise, & did not love your sister . . . [.]”

Despite granting President Lincoln the ultimate compliment available in N. H. R. Dawson’s vocabulary, calling him a “gentleman,” the Alabama soldier could not help interpreting the Lincoln administration from his own Southern aristocratic viewpoint. For a long time, Dawson thought that Lincoln would be unable to prosecute the war as soon as Northern society realized the expense involved in raising armies. “It is thought,” Dawson reported to Elodie, “that the financial difficulties of Mr Lincoln will be so great as to embarrass the plans of the campaign—I hope that the Capitalists will not be willing to open their coffers to his draughts. Our Armies will fight without pay . . . [.]” Dawson was

clearly a believer in the Southern picture of the North as a dollar-conscious Yankee kingdom of selfish grab and gain. Romantically, he believed the South so untainted by materialism that even the common soldiers would fight without pay. Despite being a politician himself, Dawson’s aristocratic ideal of politics ruled out party ambition (hence his father’s refusal to serve, though he was a better lawyer than Rhett and Barnwell, famous South Carolina political leaders). He thought in July of 1861, that “Mr Lincoln should now rise above party & give peace to the country—but I fear he will not be equal to the position—He is too much a party man—I say this, my own dear girl, knowing how you feel, & with no idea that it will give you pain . . . [.]”

Elodie Todd replied to Dawson’s cautious defamation of Lincoln’s political character in a none-too-protective way:

I do not think of peace and know well Mr Lincoln is not *man enough* to dare to make it, he is but a tool in the hands of his Party and would not brave their wrath by such a proposition, how nobly he could redeem himself if he had the cour-

age he is no more fitted for the office than many others who have recently occupied it and we may date our trouble from the time when we allowed *Party* to place in the chair a President entirely disregarding his *worth* ability or capacity for it, and I hope our Confederacy may guard against it . . . [.]

Mary Todd’s sister then revealed the strength of family ties in the aristocratic Todd clan by admitting her double standard for judging the Todd family:

I could not be offended at your remarks concerning Mr L—Knowing they were not intended more for him than for his party or than for any other *Blk Rep. President*, and you do not say as much as I do, tho’ that is a privilege I allow myself exclusively, to abuse my relations as much as I desire but no one else can do the same before me or even say a word against



Courtesy Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill
FIGURE 1. N. H. R. Dawson

Kentucky.

By and large, Elodie Todd and N. H. R. Dawson as well were true to this standard—even to the extent of disbelieving anything they read in the newspapers which reflected poorly on Mary Todd. On July 22, 1861, she wrote one of the harshest appraisals of Mary Todd that appears anywhere in her correspondence.

I see from today's paper Mrs. Lincoln is indignant at my Brother David's being in the Confederate Service and declares "that by no word or act of hers would he escape punishment for his treason against her husband's government should he fall into their hands"— I do not believe she ever said it—& if she did & meant it she is no longer a Sister of mine, nor deserves to be called a woman of nobleness & truth & God grant my noble & brave hearted brother will never fall into their hands & have to suffer death *twice over*, and he could do nothing which would make *me prouder of him*, than he is doing now *fighting for his country*, what would she do to me do you suppose, I have so much to answer for?

Her fiancee replied with a letter which indicates that Dawson might have been less restrained in his appraisal of Lincoln had he not felt that he must be careful of Elodie's touchy Todd family pride:

I do not believe that Mrs Lincoln ever expressed herself, as you state, about your brother David.— If she did, it is in very bad taste, and in worse temper— and unlike all the representations I have seen of her character— But you will learn, my dearest, that a wife, soon becomes wrapped up in the fortunes of her husband & will tolerate in her relations no opposition to his wishes . . . [.]

Was Dawson hinting that Elodie might some day sever her loyalties from the Todd family and share a more "objective" view of the narrow party politician in the White House?

If Dawson thought so, he was quite wrong. In a dramatic episode, Elodie proved her loyalty to the Todd family name. In December of 1861, Selma citizens staged a "Tableau," a sort of costume charade in which living people staged a motionless picture, to raise money for a local regiment. Elodie was invited and intended to go, until she saw the programme:

... I see my Brotherinlaw Mr Lincoln is to be introduced twice I have declined as all my feeling & self respect have not taken wings & flown. I must confess that I have never been more hasty or indignant in my life than since the last step has been taken. What have we done to deserve this attempt to personally insult & wound our feelings in so public a manner. We have suffered what they never have and perhaps never will in severing ties of blood . . . [.] Dr. Kendree and Mrs Kendree last summer proposed that in one of the Tableaux we should introduce the two Scenes which they propose entertaining their audience with Tuesday night and I then in their *own home* showed the indignation that I felt at a proposition made to wound me. . . . [they wished] Mr Lincoln would be *caught & hung* . . . that was enough but I feel I can never feel kindly again toward those who take part in this, you do not know all we have taken from some of the people of this place, no not one half and *pride* has kept us from shewing them what we felt, I am afraid I shall never love Selma and I feel thankful that I am not dependent on its inhabitants for my happiness, hereafter I will stay to myself and keep out of the . . . way of those to whom my presence seems to be obnoxious . . . [.]

Elodie did stay home and apparently suffered a period of ostracism which severed her relations with her neighbors in Selma. Dawson tried to smooth over the difficulty as well as he could, explaining that Lincoln had become the "personification" of the enemy, but Elodie continued to complain bitterly about Selma, much to Dawson's obvious irritation. Todd family pride was a powerful force.

The Todd Family: A Startling Revelation

Most historians have assumed that Mary Todd Lincoln took an interest in political affairs that was extraordinary for a woman in her day because politics had been such a large and natural part of the Todd family life. Her father, Robert S. Todd, had been a politician himself. Lexington, though not the state capital, was an intensely political town because one of its citizens, Henry Clay, was a long-time contender for the United States Presidency. Todd was apparently associated with local men of ambition who wished to see Clay become President. As William Townsend has shown, Todd was involved in bitter political disputes because he supported the 1833 Kentucky law forbidding the importation of slaves into the state for purposes of sale. Some supporters of the law, written at the height of anti-slavery feeling within the South itself, argued that, without fresh infusions of black population, the slave power in the state would wither and eventually emancipate the slaves. Powerful pro-slavery interests in the state fought for the repeal of the nonimportation law and gained it just before Todd's death. When he ran for office, Todd received the bitter denunciation of the pro-slavery interests for being what he was not, an emancipationist. Thus Mary and the other Todd children knew the bitterness of politics as well as the satisfactions of being a family thought worthy of representing their community's political interests. Nevertheless, it is assumed that Mary gained a love of politics from the partisan milieu of her early life.

N. H. R. Dawson debated, while in the army, whether he should become a politician or devote himself to law practice when he ended his tour of duty. In May of 1861, he asked his fiancee what her feelings were about his future career. Dutifully, Elodie replied that she would be content with either choice. "One might suppose," she said, "to behold Mr Lincoln's Political career that my family would be content with Politics I am used to such a life My Father having followed such a one himself." When he asked again, he got a very different answer from Robert S. Todd's young daughter:

As to a Political life I think almost any choice preferable and more conducive to happiness, it is a life of trials vexations & cares, and in the end a grand disappointment to all the [illeg.] & purposes of the Politician himself & of his friends, that [there?] are a few empty honors [nor] do they compensate when gained, for the trouble of a laborious life to please the World, which does indeed turn every day your friends today, your foes tomorrow, ready to tarnish your fair name with any untruth that will serve to promote party purposes. I know my Father's life was embittered after the selection of a Political life was made by his friends for him & he accepted it and after all the sacrifices he made for them & to acquire for himself Fame & a name which lived only a few years after he slumbered in his grave, and it was well he did not live longer to plunge deeper in for every other life had lost its charm and there was but the one that added he thought to his happiness. Yet I am wrong I expect to judge all by the few I have known to be otherwise than happy in such a choice, as much depends upon disposition and any life may have proved to have had the same effect . . . [.] This is a remarkable letter which ones does not know quite how to interpret. It is, in the first place, the letter of a seventeen-year-old girl. It is, in the second place, the letter of a girl who was but five years old when her father died. Therefore, it is not altogether to be trusted.

Nevertheless, it is a unique view of a family which has remained shrouded in mystery and deserves careful consideration. It is unclear whether Robert S. Todd was truly embittered before his death (though Elodie says so) or whether the family projected their own bitterness, derived from the speed with which his fame faded after his death, onto their memory of Robert Todd. Such an interpretation would be congruent

with Elodie's statement that what name he gained faded quickly after his death and with the fact that she surely learned of this bitterness from her family long after her father's death. Probably a girl of five was unable to understand a bitterness bred of political chicanery.

Whether Elodie's view of politics and of her father's political career should cause us to reevaluate Mary Todd's alleged love of politics is a still more difficult question. Mary left home before her father engaged in the heated campaign for the state senate in 1845, in which Todd denounced his opponent as a man in a "fit of malice and desperation," "an habitual and notorious falsifier, an unscrupulous and indiscriminate calumniator, reckless alike of fame, of honor, and of truth," and a "miserable old man" who engaged in "unprovoked assaults, unfounded charges and illiberal insinuations." She was away in Springfield when her father was called by his opponent a "weak and vicious" man of "craven spirit" who worked as a legislator in the lower house to gain favors for the Branch Bank of Kentucky of which Todd was himself the president. Moreover, Robert S. Todd died in the midst of a campaign for reelection to the Kentucky Senate, and those of his family who were with him may somehow have blamed the campaigning for killing him. Especially to a child of five, it may have seemed as though whatever it was that took the father away from the house all the time on business (campaigning) simply took him away forever. From all these feelings and emotions Mary Todd Lincoln could well have

been quite immune. She may therefore have imbibed a love of politics from the early career of a father whose later career and death in the midst of campaigning left younger members of the family bitter about the profession of politics.

Other intimate glimpses of the Todd family provide interesting food for thought. Dawson seems to have been a devout man who took his Episcopalianism seriously as religion and not merely as a badge of his status in Southern society. He was distressed that Elodie, although she attended church, was not a full-fledged member. Elodie's professions of lack of adequate faith sound a bit perfunctory, but the subject appeared often enough in her letters to indicate genuine concern. "It was not necessary," she told her fiancee in a typical passage, "for you to ask me to pray for you as I have not allowed a day to pass without doing so, nor will not, altho' my prayers may not be heard & I regret each day more & more that I am not a good christian, as such my prayers might be of some avail, but I fear the life I have lead, does not entitle me to hope for much and it is so hard to be good. . . ." Dawson was quite concerned, and her reluctance in the face of urgings like this one surely betokened serious thought on the subject: ". . . I know that you have all the purity—all the essential qualifications—that would authorize you to take this step—that you are in all things, save the public confession—a christian . . . [.]" There may have been some religious confusion among all the Todd children. Elodie's mother took her to the Presbyterian Church, but Elodie had gone to the Episcopal



FIGURE 2. The Todd home in Lexington is to be restored soon.

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Church at some time in her past. It will be remembered that Mary Todd Lincoln became a Presbyterian after her original Episcopalian affiliations. Elodie's confusion was doubtless increased by the fact that Dawson would have preferred her choosing the Episcopal Church, though he most wanted her to choose to make a full commitment for *some* church.

Elodie Todd's letters also seem to indicate that the family was a close-knit and happy one. "We have always been happy together," she told Dawson, "and never known what the feeling was that prompted others to always seek happiness away from home, and to feel miserable when compelled to remain there." Of course, Elodie did not have the experience Mary had, of gaining a new mother who was disliked by Mary's own grandmother. For Elodie, though, there was only one problematical member of the family.

Dr. George Todd is my Father's youngest son by his first marriage, but an almost total stranger to me for in my whole life I have never seen him but twice, the first time he was a practicing Physician, the next after my Father's death and owing then to some unpleasant family disturbances, there has never since existed between the older members of my family and himself & his older brother the same feeling as before or that is felt for our sisters I was too young at the time to even understand why the feeling was. When he called on [brother] David in Richmond, David would not see him or recognize him this I feel sorry for and hope they will yet make friends . . . [.]

It was little wonder that the other Todd children hated George. Robert S. Todd had written a will, but George contested it successfully on the technical grounds that there was only one witness to the document. This was a direct blow at Robert S. Todd's widow and the second batch of children because it meant the bulk of the estate, instead of passing to Mrs. Todd, had to be liquidated and divided among all the children. It speaks well for Mrs. Todd's restraint or for Elodie's loyalty to the family name that the young girl was seemingly unaware of what George had done and hoped there would be a reconciliation between him and other members of the family. Otherwise, Elodie made no distinctions in sisterly affection for all the children, whether by the first or second marriage.

It is somewhat surprising to find a member of the Todd family so violently anti-English as Elodie was. It was almost more than she could bear to have to hope that England would intervene in the Confederacy's behalf. On February 1, 1862, she wrote Dawson that she wished "we would have Peace or that France & England would recognize us, if they intend to, I confess I have little patience left, and wish we could take our time in allowing them to recognize the Confederate States. I hope they will pay for their tardiness in giving an enormous price, but I should not be so *spiteful*, but I never could tolerate the English and will not acknowledge like some members of the Family that [we] are of English descent, I prefer being *Irish* and certainly possess some Irish traits. . . ." Not only does this passage inform us of a peculiar difference of opinion within the family in regard to England, it also reminds us of what is easy to forget: Confederate diplomacy was unnatural. Southerners, at least the Presbyterian ones, hated England as much as Northerners did, and their desire for rescue by England was pure expedience. It showed in the King Cotton theory of diplomacy as well: it was surely an odd way to make friends with England by denying her the Southern cotton she needed for her mills.

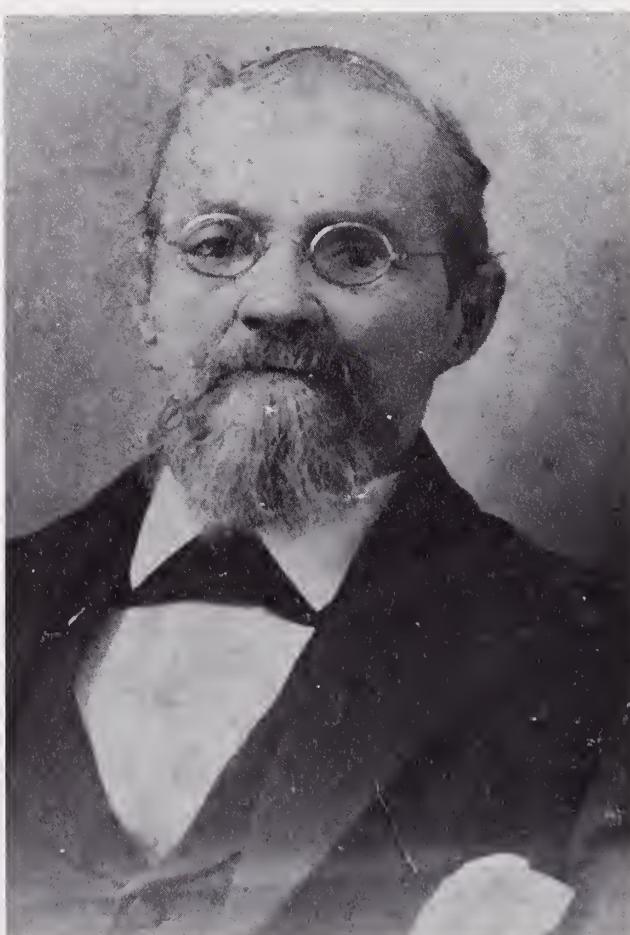
Only part of Elodie's alienation from Selma, Alabama, stemmed from her feud over the proper limits for criticizing her brother-in-law. Elodie considered herself a Kentuckian, and she had trouble all along developing any enthusiasm for her fiancee's home town in Alabama. She suffered agonies over Kentucky's reluctance to secede and join the other Confederate states. She delivered tongue-lashings to those Alabamans unlucky enough to criticize Kentucky in her pre-

sence, and she followed the career of Kentucky's John C. Breckinridge closely. Whether all the Todd children felt such an intense identification with their native state is an interesting question with interesting implications. Might Abraham Lincoln's Kentucky background have been more important to Mary Todd than we have previously realized?

EPILOGUE

N. H. R. Dawson reenlisted once his original term of service was up. He led a cavalry unit in the late part of the war. Elodie chided herself for her selfishness in wishing that he would stay home and realized that she must not interfere with her husband's sense of duty to Alabama and the Confederacy. Dawson must hardly ever have been at home in the early period of their marriage, for he attended sessions of the state legislature and led the cavalry when the legislature was in recess.

Mrs. Dawson made other adjustments to her husband's ways. She lived in Selma the rest of her life. She must also have made her peace with Mr. Dawson's interest in politics, for he never ceased to dabble in politics. She never repudiated her identification with Southern interests or her secessionist sympathies. She became a leader of the movement to erect a Confederate monument in Selma's Live Oak Cemetery. In fact, she defied her husband's dislike of female volunteer societies and became president of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Selma. One could not have predicted this assumption of leadership in Selma society in the period of her withdrawal from a society which had insulted a Todd brother-in-law. She bore N. H. R. Dawson two children. In 1877, she died and was buried near the Confederate monument she had helped to build.



Courtesy of J. Winston Coleman, Jr.

FIGURE 3. Dr. George Todd, the black sheep.



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LINCOLN'S SPRINGFIELD FRIENDS: FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO

On June 24, 1847, Benjamin Bond offered a resolution to the Illinois Constitutional Convention "to report a provision prohibiting free negroes from emigrating into this State, and that no person shall bring slaves into this State from other States and set them free." Bond's motion eventually became Article 14 of the Illinois Constitution. Abraham Lincoln was not a member of the constitutional convention, and, since he assumed his seat in the United States House of Representatives in December, he was not in Springfield on March 6, 1848, to vote on the article. There is nothing on the subject in his surviving correspondence. Some of Lincoln's friends and political associates, however, were members of the convention, and many of his Springfield neighbors did vote on the constitution — and on Article 14, which was submitted separately for a vote — in the spring of 1848. The record of the convention and of the votes of his Springfield friends goes a long way towards dashing any argument that Abraham Lincoln's racial views were deeply rooted in Western negrophobia.

Benjamin Bond was a Whig, but his resolution stirred plenty of opposition among fellow Whig delegates to the constitutional convention. Stephen Trigg Logan, who had been Lincoln's law partner three years before, was one of the Whig delegates who had doubts about the resolution. "It was a subject of a good deal of delicacy," he suggested, "and one upon which it was difficult at all times clearly to distinguish between judgement and prejudice." John M. Palmer, a Democrat, detested "one idea" reformers, but "Every impulse of his heart and every feeling of his, was in opposition to slavery." Agitation of the subject blocked quiet movements to ameliorate the slaves' condition and "remove the great stain of moral guilt now upon this great republic." The proposition, therefore, should not be in the constitution. Logan, too,

wanted to leave the proposition out, in part because he "respected the abolitionists and believed them to be honest and sincere." Stephen A. Hurlbut, a Whig like Logan, "never would consent to" the proposition.

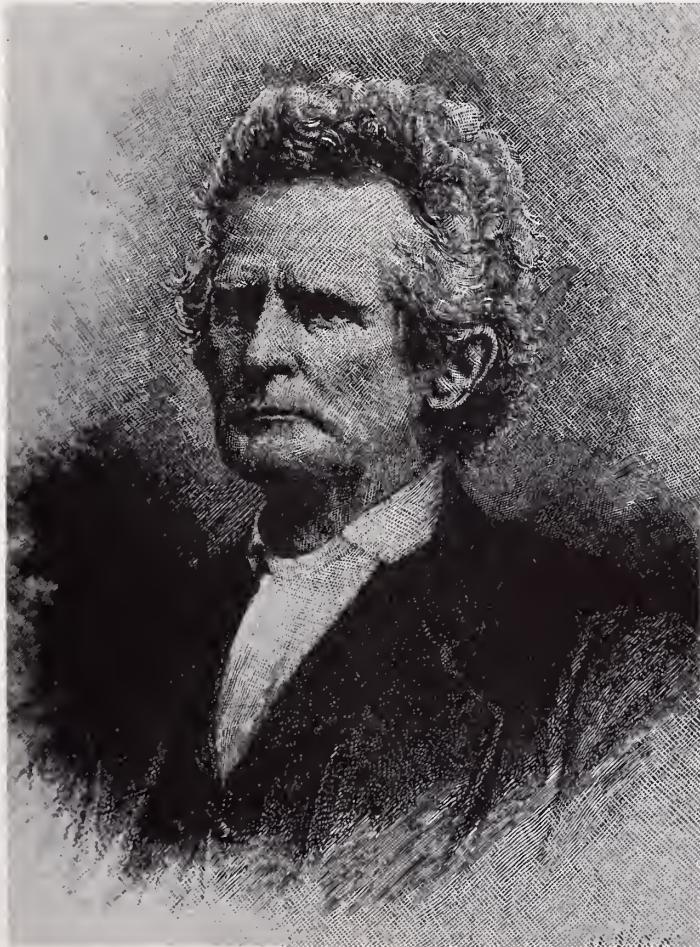
Lincoln's brother-in-law Ninian Wirt Edwards was also a member of the convention. A month after Bond offered his resolution, Edwards suggested a cleverly thought out amendment to the proposed bill of rights:

Whereas, so much of section nineteen of the bill of rights as provides for the restriction upon blacks, in connection with certain civil rights, privileges and immunities, is an implied admission of their possession of such rights, as citizens of this state and the United States, in the absence of such constitutional restrictions; and, whereas, the directions therein given to the Legislature presupposes that any portion of the people of this state would be in favor of conferring such rights and privileges (as is therein denied) to colored people; and whereas, the Legislature would have no power to allow to persons of color to hold office and without any constitutional prohibition have already passed laws with severe penalties, not only making intermarriage and marriage contracts between them and the whites a criminal offence, but null and void, therefore,

Resolved, That said article be committed to the committee on Revision with instructions to omit so much of said section as refers to persons of color.

Springfield voted overwhelmingly to bar entry of Negroes into Illinois, 774-148. The minuscule 16% minority which defied prejudice, however, contained a number of people whose names are quite familiar to Lincoln students.

STEPHEN TRIGG LOGAN was true to his stand at the convention. On voting day he voted against the exclusion clause. A Kentuckian, like Lincoln, Logan had been Lincoln's law partner from 1841 to 1844, when the partnership was amicably dissolved so that Logan could bring his son David



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Stephen Trigg Logan grew timid in old age, but in 1848 he said "no."

into his firm. Lincoln and Logan were close associates in the Whig party in the 1840s, and Logan would be the Whig candidate for Lincoln's Congressional seat the next August.

NINIAN WIRT EDWARDS was also true to his position at the convention and voted against the exclusion clause. Edwards, also a Kentuckian by birth, had married Mary Todd Lincoln's sister Elizabeth in 1832. Edwards was also a Whig, though his political views differed considerably in tone from Lincoln's. Usher F. Linder recalled that the socially prominent Edwards hated "democracy . . . as the devil is said to hate holy water." In August he would run for the Illinois House of Representatives.

ANSON G. HENRY, who was one of Lincoln's closest political associates in the 1840s as well as his doctor, voted against the clause barring Negroes from Illinois. Lincoln and Henry were perhaps the most organization-minded Whigs in the state, and the doctor was a tireless letter-writer and political worker. Henry had been born in Richfield, New York, but had lived in Illinois since the early 1830s. Later in 1848, he and Lincoln would stump the district for Zachary Taylor.

SIMEON FRANCIS, who also voted against the exclusion clause, was the editor of Springfield's Whig newspaper, the *Illinois State Journal*. After what Lincoln referred to as the fatal first of January, 1841, Mrs. Francis had been instrumental in getting Lincoln and Mary Todd back together again. Simeon Francis frequently opened the *Journal's* pages to Lincoln. He had been born in Connecticut, but he moved to Springfield in 1831. By 1848 he was thinking of moving to Oregon, and a year later Lincoln would seek his appointment as Secretary of Oregon Territory from the Taylor administration.

JAMES COOK CONKLING, another opponent of the exclusion clause, was a Princeton graduate, born in New York City. When he moved to Springfield in 1838, he very quickly moved into genteel society. He married Mercy Ann Levering, one of Mary Todd Lincoln's best friends. A Whig in politics, Conkling had been elected mayor of Springfield in 1844.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. The Reverend Charles Dresser abstained.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. John Todd Stuart abstained.

JAMES HARVEY MATHENY was also a Whig associate of Lincoln's. He was probably the best man at Lincoln's wedding in 1842. In 1858 Stephen A. Douglas would call Matheny, Lincoln's "especial confidential friend for the last twenty years." He was an Illinois native.

ALBERT TAYLOR BLEDSOE was the chief editorial writer for the *Illinois State Journal* while Lincoln was in Congress. Born in Kentucky, he was a West Point graduate, an Episcopal minister at one time, and, for a time, the law partner of Lincoln's friend Edward D. Baker. A Whig in politics, Bledsoe would move from Springfield later in 1848 to take up residence in Mississippi, where his racial views would change a great deal.

BENJAMIN S. EDWARDS voted, as his brother Ninian Wirt did, against the exclusion article. A Yale graduate, his legal career had brought him many of the same acquaintances Lincoln had. After studying law in New Haven, he read law in Stephen T. Logan's office, was briefly associated with Edward D. Baker, and in 1843 became John Todd Stuart's partner. Stuart had been Lincoln's first law partner. Edwards was a Whig.

Some people who voted for the constitution did not vote on the Negro exclusion clause. The meaning of an abstention on this issue is not altogether clear, but it shows at least a lack of aggressive prejudice, a willingness not to bait the race issue, and a contentment with leaving the free Negro alone.

JOHN TODD STUART abstained on the exclusion article. A Kentuckian who became Lincoln's political mentor in the Illinois Legislature, Stuart was also the man who encouraged Lincoln to study law. Thereafter, he showed his faith in the New Salem railsplitter by taking him as his partner.

CHARLES DRESSER also abstained from voting on the exclusion article. Born in Connecticut, he became Springfield's Episcopal Rector in 1838. On November 4, 1842, he solemnized the marriage vows of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd.



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FIGURE 4. John M. Palmer.

Not all of the voters against the Negro exclusion clause were Whigs or friends of Abraham Lincoln, of course. Peter Cartwright, an ardent Democrat whom Lincoln had defeated in his race for Congress in 1846, voted against the article. And John Calhoun, another Democrat who had appointed the penniless Lincoln as his deputy surveyor in New Salem, abstained from voting on the article.

Nor were Lincoln's personal and political friends unanimous in their opposition to the exclusion of free Negroes from Illinois.

WILLIAM HENRY HERNDON voted for the exclusion article. At the time of the vote, he was Lincoln's law partner and enthusiastic Whig ally. They were having a dispute, however, over Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War. Herndon could not understand Lincoln's stand in a constitutional, moral, or political sense, though Lincoln sent him letter after letter explaining his position.

DAVID LOGAN did not vote the way his father Stephen Trigg Logan voted. He supported the exclusion of Negroes from the state.

WILLIAM BUTLER, famed for his ability to predict the outcome of elections, was born in Kentucky. A friend of Stephen T. Logan's, he was an active Whig and a political associate of Lincoln's. He supported the exclusion article.

The preponderance in number as well as in importance in Lincoln's life lay with those who opposed the exclusion article. Lincoln's friends opposed it, though there were significant exceptions — most notably, William Herndon.

The vote on this constitutional article is not a reliable predictor of later political behavior. Hurlbut became a Republican and was entrusted by Lincoln in 1861 with a delicate information-gathering mission to South Carolina. Palmer also became a Republican and a sturdy supporter of Lincoln's political career. Lincoln in turn made him a brigadier general. Other members of the constitutional convention who protested anti-black legislation had very different political careers. Edwards became a Democrat — a move that shocked Lincoln — and he opposed Lincoln's

election in 1860. Logan's politics during the Lincoln administration were murky. Herndon said that he was like other "monied men": "old & timid — disturbed and terrified." During Reconstruction he became a Democrat, though he later returned to the Republican fold.

Simeon Francis, Anson Henry, and James Cook Conkling became Republicans. Conkling was staunchly antislavery and told President Lincoln of his hope that Union military victories would leave "no question as to the condition and rights of 'American citizens of African descent.'"

Matheny, on the other hand, dragged his feet in becoming a Republican, entering the party much later than Lincoln. Edwards became a Republican in 1856, but he switched to the Democratic party a year later. Albert Taylor Bledsoe, far from becoming a Republican, grew gradually to advocate slavery as biblically justified. He was the Assistant Secretary of War of the Confederate States of America!

The complexities of American politics in the middle of the nineteenth century prevent attaching any clear racial views to those of Lincoln's friends who opposed the exclusion article. Their later political views were not necessarily consistent with a friendly stance towards the Negro. Moreover, the extremism of the article probably caused some to doubt its constitutionality, no matter what their sentiments on racial questions. Still, the mass of voters certainly did not think it extreme, and over 80% of Springfield's citizens supported it. To be a part of so small a minority in opposition was a significant, even heroic, act.

Editor's Note: Archivist Dean DeBolt of the Sangamon State University Library generously sent microfilmed copies of the poll books on which this article is based.

R. GERALD McMURTRY LECTURES PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Printed copies of the 1979 R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture, Don E. Fehrenbacher's *The Minor Affair: An Adventure in Forgery and Detection*, are available on request. A few copies of the 1978 lecture, Richard N. Current's *Unity, Ethnicity, & Abraham Lincoln*, are still available as well. Requests will be filled as long as supplies last.

THE MINOR AFFAIR An Adventure in Forgery and Detection

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1978

HAMILTON, LEE DAVID

1978-25

Lee David Hamilton/The Lincoln Calendarbook 1979/(Picture of French's statue of Lincoln)/(Cover title)/[Copyright 1978 by Lee David Hamilton. All rights reserved. Reproduction in any matter is prohibited. Bookcalendar copyright and Calendarbook copyright in 1978. Published by The Prairie River Press, Post Office Box 8, Greenville, Wisconsin 54942.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 8 1/2" x 7", 60 pp., illus. Calendarbook on Lincoln containing text, plain and colored illustrations, and a 1979 calendar.

SCHILD, JOHN W.

1978-26

Four/Days/In/October/by/John W. Schildt/[Copyright 1978 by John W. Schildt. Published by Craft Press.] Brochure, paper, 8 1/2" x 5 1/2", v p., 71 (4) pp., illus., price, \$2.00.

STROZIER, CHARLES B.,

PH.D. 1978-27

(Portrait)/Abraham Lincoln/Charles B. Strozier, Ph.D./Associate Professor of History/Sangamon State University/Springfield, Illinois/Lecturer in Psychiatry/Rush Medical College/Chicago, Illinois/[Caption title]/[Copyright 1978 by Warner/Chilcott. All rights reserved. Published by *Psychobiography*, Vol. 1, No. 2.] Pamphlet, paper, 10 7/8" x 8 1/8", 15 (1) pp., illus.

LOUIS A. WARREN
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Folder, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", 4 pp., illus. Number 1685, Five Ex-Presidents Watched The Lincoln Administration, July 1978; Number 1686, Pale-faced People and Their Red Brethren, August 1978; Number 1687, A "Great Fraud"? Politics in Thomas Ford's *History of Illinois*, September 1978; Number 1688, Recent Acquisitions: Important Fiftieth-Anniversary Gift From Lincoln National Life's Agency Heads, October 1978; Number 1689, Don E. Fehrenbacher On The Dred Scott Case: A Review, November 1978; Number 1690, Index for 1978, December 1978.

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1979-3

Powdery, Lincoln/And The Shrine/By Dr. Larry E. Burgess, Archivist/Head Of Special Collections/A. K. Smiley Public Library/(Portraits of Powdery and Lincoln)/A Keepsake/February 12, 1979/Lincoln Memorial Shrine/Redlands, California/[Cover title]/[Printed at the Beacon Printery, Redlands, California.] Pamphlet, paper, 8 5/8" x 5 1/2", (4) pp., printing on inside back cover, illus. Limited edition No. 219.

GUTMAN, RICHARD J. S. AND

KELLIE O. GUTMAN

1979-4

John Wilkes Booth/Himself/Richard J. S. Gutman/Kellie O. Gutman/Hired Hand Press Dover, Massachusetts 1979/[Copyright 1979 by Richard J. S. Gutman & Kellie O. Gutman. Printed by Thomas Todd Company, Boston.]

Book, cloth, 8 1/2" x 8 1/2", 87 (1) pp., inlaid photograph of Booth on front cover, illus., price, \$17.50. No. 162 of limited edition of 1,000 copies. Autographed copy by authors.

HYMAN, HAROLD M.

1979-5

Harold M. Hyman/*With Malice Toward Some: Scholarship (or/Something Less) on the Lincoln Murder/(Caption title)*/[Copyright 1979 by the Abraham Lincoln Association. Published by the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois.]

Pamphlet, paper, 9" x 6 1/4", fr., 23 (1) pp.

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1979-6

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Spring 1979/Vol. 81, No. 1/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./[Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 60 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$3.00.

LLOYD, JOHN A.

1979-7

Snowbound/With/Mr. Lincoln/John A. Lloyd/Vantage Press/New York Washington Atlanta Hollywood/[Copyright 1979 by John A. Lloyd. All rights reserved. First edition.]

Book, cloth, 8 1/4" x 5 1/2", fr., 125 (11) pp., illus., price, \$6.95.

McCRARY, PEYTON

1979-8

Abraham Lincoln And/Reconstruction/The Louisiana Experiment/by Peyton McCrary/(Face of Lincoln)/Princeton University Press/Princeton, New Jersey/[Copyright 1978 by Princeton University Press. All rights reserved.]

Book, cloth, 9 1/2" x 6 3/8", xviii p., 423 (3) pp., illus., price, \$25.00.

(SHIMIZU, HIROSHI)

1979-9

(Title: Lincoln)/[Copyright 1979 by Gakken, Tokyo. Published by Gakken, Tokyo. Printed in Japan. Entire contents of book printed in Japanese language.]

Book, hard boards, 8 15/16" x 6 1/8", 144 pp., entire text is a comic book, black and white and colored illustrations. Juvenile literature.

WEBER, GEORGE W.

1979-10

Did John Wilkes Booth Take His Own Life/At Enid, Oklahoma?/By George W. Weber/Madison, Wisconsin/(Portrait of Lincoln)/Bulletin Of 35th Annual Meeting/of/The Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin/held at Milwaukee, Wisconsin/April 16, 1978/Historical Bulletin No. 34/1979/[Cover title]/

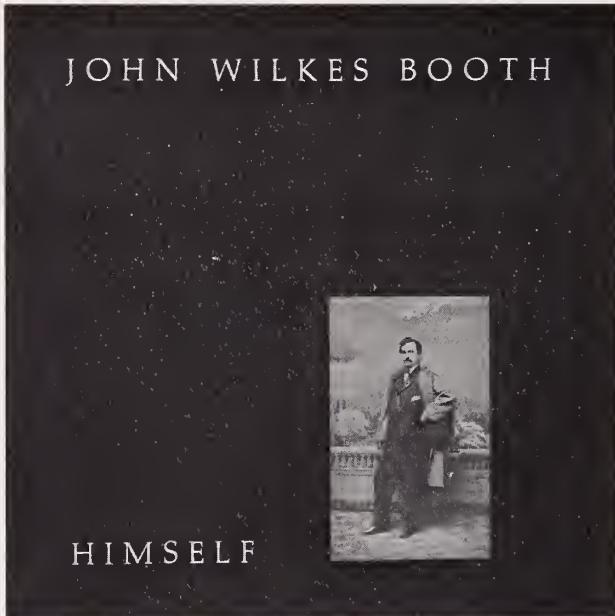
Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10" x 7 9/16", 16 pp., illus., price, \$1.25. Send to Mrs. Carl Wilhelm, c/o State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1107 Emerald Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53715.

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